

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY RABAT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS STATE 123384

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, AO, UNSC

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON ANGOLAN APPLICATION FOR UN MEMBERSHIP

THERE FOLLOWS PARTIAL TRANSCRIPT OF MAY 12, 1976 DEPARTMENT
PRESS BRIEFING WHICH POSTS MAY WISH TO DRAW ON IN RESPONDING
TO INQUIRIES ON U.S. POSITION ON ANGOLAN APPLICATION FOR UN
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MEMBERSHIP. IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES SPECIFICALLY ON THE
QUESTION OF THE BASIS FOR ANY U.S. OBJECTION TO ANGOLAN
MEMBERSHIP, YOU SHOULD RESPOND THAT THE U.S. WOULD WEIGH
THE ANGOLAN APPLICATION IN THE SAME WAY AS ANY OTHER, BY

ARTICLE 4, PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE UN CHARTER WHICH STATES:
MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS IS OPEN TO ALL OTHER PEACE
LOVING STATES WHICH ACCEPT THE OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN THE
PRESENT CHARTER AND, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION,
ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS.

BEGIN TEXT:

Q. THERE ARE REPORTS OUT OF NEW YORK THAT THE UNITED
STATES IS THREATENING TO VETO THE ANGOLA APPLICATION FOR
UN MEMBERSHIP. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON IT?

A. MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAPPENED IN NEW YORK WAS THAT
THE SECURITY COUNCIL POSTPONED CONSIDERATION OF THE APPLI-
CATION OF ANGOLA, AND THAT A DATE FOR ITS MEETING WILL BE

BASED UPON CONSULTATIONS AMONG MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Q. WHAT IS THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD ANGOLA MEMBERSHIP?

A. I WOULD NOT WANT TO ANTICIPATE THE POSITION WE TAKE
UNTIL THE APPLICATION IS ACTUALLY CONSIDERED BY THE COUNCIL.
IT IS NO SECRET THAT WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE
CONTINUED PRESENCE IN ANGOLA OF CUBAN COMBAT FORCES. AND
I WOULD SAY ON BACKGROUND THAT IN CONSIDERING THE ANGOLA
APPLICATION, THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS WOULD BE, IN
OUR JUDGMENT, ESSENTIAL.

Q. WHY IS THAT ON BACKGROUND?

A. BECAUSE I CHOSE TO PUT IT ON BACKGROUND.

Q. I MEAN, ISN'T THAT MORE OR LESS WHAT HAS BEEN SAID UP
TILL NOW?

A. I DO NOT WANT TO SAY THAT ON THE RECORD. I WANT TO
SAY IT ON BACKGROUND.
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Q. (ON BACKGROUND) ARE YOU SAYING IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE
AMERICAN ACCEPTANCE OF ANGOLAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN THAT
THE CUBAN TROOPS BE WITHDRAWN FIRST?

A. (ON BACKGROUND) WHAT I SAID, I THINK, WAS IN CONSIDERING
THEIR APPLICATION, THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS WOULD
BE, IN OUR JUDGMENT, ESSENTIAL.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) WAIT A MINUTE. THAT IS VERY TRICKY
WORDING?

A. (ON BACKGROUND) I THINK IT IS VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD.
ALL OF THIS EXCHANGE IS ON BACKGROUND.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) THAT DOES AMOUNT THEN TO SAYING WE WOULD VETO AN APPLICATION UNLESS THE TROOPS WERE GONE?

A. (ON BACKGROUND) I AM GOING TO STAND WITH WHAT I SAID.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) IT SEEMS TO ME YOU ARE JUST TRYING TO SAY IT IN A VERY CLEVER WAY.

A. (ON BACKGROUND) A DIPLOMATIC WAY.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) "WOULD BE ESSENTIAL" IS A SOMEWHAT UNGRAMMATICAL PHRASE OR INCOMPLETE ONE. ESSENTIAL TO WHAT? ESSENTIAL TO OUR CONSIDERING IT? ESSENTIAL TO OUR CONSIDERING IT?

A. (ON BACKGROUND) IT IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR IN OUR CONSIDERATION.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) IN OUR FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION?

END BACKGROUND.

Q. HAVE YOU HAD ANY RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S OVERTURE TO ANGOLA ON THE TRIP?

A. I AM NOT AWARE OF ANY EXCHANGES SUBSEQUENT TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SECRETARY'S STATEMENT IN DAKAR.

Q. BOB, CAN I RETURN TO THE UN MATTER?

A. YES.

Q. ISN'T THIS A SHIFT FROM THE USUAL AMERICAN POSITION ON UN MEMBERSHIP? HASN'T IT BEEN TRUE IN THE PAST WE DIDN'T TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION SUCH THINGS AS THEIR DOMESTIC POLITICS OR THAT SORT OF THING?

A. I THINK THAT EACH CASE IS DECIDED ON ITS MERITS.

Q. WHAT DIFFERENCES DOES IT MAKE IN REGARD TO UN MEMBERSHIP WHETHER THERE ARE CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA?

A. I THINK THAT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN JUDGING ANGOLA. I AM SAYING THAT IT IS A FACTOR. I BELIEVE WE HAVE SUGGESTED IT WAS A FACTOR IN BASING OUR OWN DECISION ON RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. BUT AS FAR AS SPECULATING ON HOW WE WOULD VOTE ON THE APPLICATION ITSELF, I REALLY DON'T WANT TO GET INTO THAT UNTIL IT ACTUALLY COMES BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. AND, INCIDENTALLY, I DO NOT THINK THAT

THAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN FOR SOME TIME. AS YOU KNOW, THE WHOLE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN INVOLVES A TWO-STAGE PROCESS -- FIRST, THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST AGREE, AND, SECOND, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MUST AGREE. AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS NOT SCHEDULED TO MEET NOW UNTIL MID SEPTEMBER. SO, THERE IS NO SPECIAL URGENCY.

Q. DID THE UNITED STATES PLAY A ROLE IN POSTPONING OR SETTING BACK ANY SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION TO INSURE THAT THEY COULDN'T?

A. WE EXPRESSED OUR PREFERENCE FOR A DEFERRAL.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) BOB, COULD YOU CLEAR SOMETHING UP FOR ME? IN MONROVIA, THE SECRETARY OFFERED TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA IF HE WERE PROVIDED WITH A TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS. NOW HERE YOU ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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SAYING THAT IN CONSIDERING THEIR APPLICATION FOR THE UN, THERE HAS TO BE AN ACTUAL WITHDRAWAL. DOES THAT SAME THING APPLY TO OUR OFFER TO --

A. (ON BACKGROUND) BASICALLY THE STATEMENTS ARE CONSISTENT.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) WHAT IS IT? DO WE WANT, WOULD WE BE SATISFIED WITH A TIMETABLE FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL, OR DOES THE LAST CUBAN SOLDIER HAVE TO BE REMOVED?

A. (ON BACKGROUND) IN GENERAL, THERE HAS TO BE AN INDICATION OF THE WITHDRAWAL.

END BACKGROUND.

Q. DID THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S. MISSION IN NEW YORK HAVE A CONVERSATION WITH THE HEAD OF THE ANGOLAN DELEGATION?

A. THERE WERE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN USUN OFFICIALS AND THE ANGOLANS. I DO NOT KNOW THE IDENTITY OF THE PERSONS. IT WAS NOT GOVERNOR SCRANTON, I KNOW THAT.

Q. I KNOW WHO IT WAS.

A. I DO NOT.

Q. DID THE U.S. OFFICIAL, WHO WAS NOT GOVERNOR SCRANTON, SUGGEST TO THE ANGOLAN DELEGATE THAT HE GO HOME AND CONFER WITH HIS GOVERNMENT?

A. I DO NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF THEIR CONVERSATION. I AM SURE THE ANGOLANS ARE AWARE OF OUR POSITION.

Q. IS THE ANGOLAN DELEGATE INDEED GOING BACK TO LUANDA FOR FURTHER CONSULTATION?

A. YOU WOULD HAVE TO ASK THE ANGOLAN DELEGATION THAT QUESTION.

WE HAVE BEEN GOING BACK AND FORTH ON BACKGROUND. ON THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RECORD, ON THIS QUESTION, I WOULD SAY THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ASSESSING ANGOLA'S APPLICATION. AND I STILL STAND WITH WHAT I SAID PREVIOUSLY ON BACKGROUND.

Q. (ON BACKGROUND) ISN'T THAT THE SAME -- YOU SAID YOU WOULDN'T SPECULATE ON WHAT WE WOULD DO, BUT I GUESS WE COULD ASSUME THAT IF THERE ARE STILL CUBAN TROOPS IN SEPTEMBER WHEN THIS MATTER CAME UP, OR WHENEVER IT DOES COME UP, THAT WE WOULD VETO THE APPLICATION.

A. (ON BACKGROUND) LET US SEE WHAT THE SITUATION IS LIKE WHEN THE APPLICATION IS PUT FORWARD. (END BACKGROUND).

Q. BOB, IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS WILL NOT BE REVIVED BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL BEFORE SEPTEMBER?

A. MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE QUESTION OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON AN ANGOLAN QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF URGENCY.

Q. IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT ANGOLA CONSENTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL DELAYING THE VOTE?

A. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT THEIR POSITION WAS ON IT. AND I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THAT BECOMES A DETERMINANT FACTOR INASMUCH AS THEY ARE NOT A MEMBER. IT IS UP TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DECIDE WHAT ACTION IT TAKES, AND WHEN.

Q. IF THEY AGREE TO WITHHOLD THEIR APPLICATION, THEN THERE WOULD BE NOTHING FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONSIDER.

A. THE COUNCIL ITSELF POSTPONED CONSIDERATION OF THE APPLICATION.

Q. WHAT DID YOU SAY AS TO WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN MEETINGS BETWEEN THE ANGOLANS AND --?

A. I SAID THERE HAD BEEN MEETINGS BETWEEN OUR UN DELEGATION AND ANGOLAN OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK.

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Q. IN THE LAST 24 HOURS?

A. I DO NOT KNOW ABOUT THE LAST 24 HOURS, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS CONSIDERATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

Q. THE SENIOR OFFICIAL CONFIRMED THAT THAT MEETING, THAT SUCH A MEETING TOOK PLACE A FEW WEEKS AGO. THAT IS NOT WHAT YOU ARE REFERRING TO IN THIS CONTEXT?

A. I AM TALKING ABOUT IN THE CURRENT CONTEXT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

Q. BOB, I THOUGHT YOU HAD SAID EARLIER THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO EXCHANGES WITH ANGOLA SINCE THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE IN LIBERIA.

A. NO, I DO NOT BELIEVE I SAID THAT.

Q. WELL, YOU WERE ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN RESPONSE --

A. IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY RESPONSE TO THAT INITIATIVE.

Q. AND YOU SAID THERE WERE NO EXCHANGES WITH ANGOLA SINCE THEN?

A. TO THAT QUESTION, NO.

BUT I AM SAYING THAT THERE WERE DISCUSSIONS OR EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR DELEGATION AND ANGOLAN OFFICIALS.

Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT A TIMETABLE MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS?

A. I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO SPECULATE ON THAT.

Q. YOU SAID ON THE RECORD THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ASSESSING THE APPLICATION. WHY?

A. I THINK, AS WE HAVE SAID IN THE PAST, DICK, IT RELATES, TO THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA ITSELF, AND THE WHOLE QUESTION UNCLASSIFIED

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OF SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE PRESENCE OF A FOREIGN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE OF 15,000 TROOPS IN ANGOLA, HAS PLAYED A VERY DIRECT ROLE IN DETERMINING WHICH FACTION EMERGED VICTORIOUS.

Q. WHAT DOES THAT HAVE TO DO WITH YOUR DECISION THOUGH?

A. IN OUR JUDGMENT IT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR.

Q. WHAT IS THE RATIONALE? WHAT IS YOUR REASONING FOR THAT?

A. I THINK THAT IN REGARDING THE PRESENCE OF A FOREIGN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN ANGOLA WE HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE WHOLE HISTORY OF ITS PRESENCE THERE AND ITS ACTIONS. WE ARE TAKING THIS INTO ACCOUNT, NOT ONLY IN MAKING A DECISION ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS IN ANGOLA, BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN CONSIDERING THEIR APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Q. I KNOW YOU SAID THAT, BUT I'M TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT'S THE REASONING BEHIND IT. ARE YOU SUGGESTING THAT THE CUBAN TROOPS ARE NEEDED TO KEEP THE RULING FACTION IN POWER? EXPLAIN TO ME WHY IT'S AN IMPORTANT FACTOR.

A. IN OUR JUDGMENT, DICK, GIVEN THE HISTORY OF THE ROLE OF THE CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN ANGOLA -- GIVEN THE ROLE IT HAS PLAYED IN THE POLITICAL OUTCOME -- AND THE FACT THAT WE DO NOT THINK THAT THE PRESENCE OF THIS EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IS A HELPFUL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, WHERE WE BELIEVE THAT AFRICAN SOLUTIONS SHOULD BE FOUND BY AFRICANS -- GIVEN ALL OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, WE CONSIDER ITS PRESENCE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ASSESSING, AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, ANGOLA'S APPLICATION. I AM NOT GOING TO GO BEYOND THAT.

Q. ON THE ANGOLA QUESTION AGAIN, FOR THE RECORD, IS THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT IS ENGAGED IN A PRIMARY CAMPAIGN A FACTOR IN THIS REQUEST TO DEFER SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION?

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A. NOT THAT I HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF, NO.

Q. BOB, IF I COULD ASK A COROLLARY TO BERNIE'S QUESTION -- DOES THE DEPARTMENT PERCEIVE THAT AN OVERT U.S. ACTION, SUCH AS A VETO OR AN ATTEMPT TO VETO, BLOCK, ANGOLAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE NEW AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA?

A. I REALLY DO NOT WANT TO SPECULATE ON WHAT ACTION WE ARE GOING TO TAKE UNTIL THE APPLICATION ITSELF IS CONSIDERED.

Q. SURELY THAT IS A FACTOR.

A. BUT GETTING BACK TO BERNIE'S OTHER POINT, IT ISN'T

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN BUT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS WHICH HAS CAUSED US CONCERN.

Q. I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN; I'M TALKING ABOUT THE FOREIGN POLICY REACTION IN AFRICA TO AN AMERICAN DECISION TO VETO ANGOLA'S MEMBERSHIP. THAT IS NOT A DOMESTIC POLITICAL QUESTION; IT IS A FOREIGN POLICY QUESTION.

LET ME PUT IT ANOTHER WAY. IS THAT A FACTOR?

A. ALL FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS ARE COMPLEX, AND THERE IS NOT ONE SIMPLE CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATION. IF PREFER NOT TO SPECULATE ON WHAT OUR ACTION WILL BE UNTIL --

Q. YOU SAID THE CUBAN TROOPS WOULD BE A FACTOR. WOULD THE

REACTION OF THE REST OF BLACK AFRICA TO SUCH A MOVE ALSO BE A FACTOR?

A. I THINK WE GAINED THE IMPRESSION ON OUR RECENT TRIP THAT A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES SHARE THE VIEW THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY AFRICANS AND NOT BY EXTRATERRITORIAL POWERS. I THINK THERE IS SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS.

Q. YOU MEAN IT IS NOT A FACTOR?
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A. I AM NOT SAYING IT IS NOT A FACTOR; BUT I AM NOT NECESSARILY AGREEING WITH YOUR PREMISE.

Q. FOR THE RECORD -- I DON'T KNOW IF YOU HAVE THE ANSWER THERE -- BUT THE LAST TIME WE HAD A GO-AROUND ABOUT UN ADMISSION IT WAS ON THE QUESTION OF THE VIETNAMS AND SOUTH KOREA. AT THAT TIME THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS VERY FORCEFUL ABOUT HOW THE UNITED STATES ALWAYS IS FOR UNIVERSALITY OF MEMBERSHIP, AND IN THIS CASE IT HAD TO RELUCTANTLY VETO THE VIETNAMS' MEMBERSHIP BECAUSE YOU COULDN'T HAVE SORT OF -- I FORGOT THE PHRASE USED -- CERTAIN UNIVERSALITY, IT HAD TO BE ALL UNIVERSALITY.

WHY, UNDER THE THEORY OF UNIVERSALITY, IS ANGOLA NOT SUITABLE FOR ACCEPTANCE AT THIS TIME?

A. A DECISION WASN'T MADE ON THE APPLICATION, BERNIE. THE COUNCIL ITSELF AGREED TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THE APPLICATION.

Q. AT THE U.S. REQUEST.

A. WE SUPPORTED IT CERTAINLY. WE PROBABLY WERE NOT ALONE.

Q. BOB, IN THE PAST --

A. AND, IN ANY CASE, MEMBERSHIP IS NOT AUTOMATIC. THERE ARE CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP THAT HAVE TO BE MET.

Q. BOB, IN THE PAST, AS I RECALL, THE AMERICAN POSITION ON WHO RULES ANGOLA AND WHO REPRESENTS IT WAS ONE TO BE DECIDED PRIMARILY BY THE OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WOULD THE UNITED STATES ACCEPT A RECOMMENDATION BY THE OAU THAT ANGOLA BE ADMITTED REGARDLESS OF THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS.

A. THE APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP HAS TO BE BY A GOVERNMENT THAT PRESENTS ITSELF AS REPRESENTING A COUNTRY, NOT REPRESENTING A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION --

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Q. THAT'S RIGHT.

A. -- AND I THINK OUR POSITION ON ANGOLA ORIGINALLY, IF WE WANT TO GO BACK INTO THE CIVIL WAR, WAS THAT THE THREE FACTIONS THEMSELVES SHOULD HAVE FORMED A COALITION GOVERNMENT. BUT THAT IS PAST HISTORY NOW. THIS NEW GROUP HAS FORMED A GOVERNMENT.

Q. THE NEW GROUP HAS FORMED A GOVERNMENT.

A. WHICH WE HAVE NOT RECOGNIZED.

Q. IF THIS NEW GROUP THOUGH DOES OBTAIN THE RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT AND ENDORSEMENT OF THE OAU, WOULD THAT INFLUENCE OUR DECISION IN ANY WAY OR NOT?

A. I JUST PREFER NOT TO SPECULATE ON THE OTHER VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHEN THE APPLICATION IS ACTUALLY CONSIDERED.

Q. A POINT OF INFORMATION. IT HAS BEEN PUT OFF INDEFINITELY, IS THAT RIGHT, THE DECISION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL DECISION?

A. I DO NOT KNOW HOW LONG IT IS PUT OFF BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DOES NOT CONVENE UNTIL MID-SEPTEMBER.

Q. YOU SAID A MINUTE AGO THAT CERTAIN CRITERIA HAVE TO BE MET IN ORDER TO JOIN THE UN. THESE CRITERIA, AS FAR AS I CAN RECALL, ARE IN TERMS OF HOW THEY GET ALONG WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS. ARE YOU SUGGESTING THAT CONDITIONS ARE CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP NOW?

A. NO, I WAS JUST RESPONDING TO LARS' OBSERVATION. HE
WAS TALKING ABOUT THE RECOMMENDATION OF A REGIONAL GROUP,
AND I WAS POINTING OUT THAT THERE ARE --

Q. THE CRITERIA FOR UN MEMBERSHIP REFLECT UPON WHAT
GOES ON WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY INVITE
IN SOME OTHER COUNTRIES' TROOPS TO SIT THERE, SUCH AS
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WE HAVE TROOPS IN WEST GERMANY AND HUNGARY HAS TROOPS
IN EASTERN EUROPE.
IN EASTERN EUROPE.

A. I DO NOT ACCEPT THERE IS ANY PARALLEL BETWEEN THE
PRESENCE OF OUR TROOPS IN NATO AND THE CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY
FORCE THAT WENT TO ANGOLA BEFORE THERE WAS A GOVERNMENT
AND INTERVENED IN A CIVIL WAR --

Q. WHAT ARE THE INTERNAL CRITERIA?

A. -- AND WHOSE CONTINUED PRESENCE IS QUESTIONABLE.

THERE ARE WELL ESTABLISHED CRITERIA, HENRY. NO SECRET
ABOUT THEM.

Q. COULD YOU GIVE ME A REFERENCE ON IT?

A. THE UN CHARTER.

END TEXT.

ROBINSON

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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